1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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instead each other's daughters; and as, among the Katab, the Minyam and Agbat clans at the present day object to the custom of the Aku and Shokwa clans both stealing their wives and marrying their daughters, and assert that they should do one or the other, it will be seen that there is evidence for this theory of the origin of clan exogamy.

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Thus the Baiduang, Baintso, Beimbin, Bainturu, Batadon, and Banewhan might be regarded as clans (i.e. exogamous clans) in the making. Whether this is so, or whether these large groups represent clans which have now lost their exogamy, the social unit at the present time is the village-area group. This group consists of one or more kindreds who believe themselves to be descended patrilineally from a common ancestor. As the common descent can seldom be proved genealogically,[1] it is apparent that the village groups, being exogamous, constitute in reality small clans. If, therefore, a section of one village settles in another area, the rule forbidding intermarriage is maintained. And thus, though normally the members of one village may intermarry with the members of any other village, there are exceptions based on kinship considerations. The people of Fadia (a Baintso village) will not, for example, intermarry with the people of Tsofon Gidda (also a Baintso village) on the ground of a supposed consanguinity. The rule of local exogamy does not, of course, prevent a man from marrying the daughter of a recent immigrant into his village. Such marriages are permissible for three or four generations, but it would appear that usually after four generations the descendants of immigrants become absorbed in the village-area group and are therefore obliged to seek consorts from other villages. In some cases, however, the immigrant family is not absorbed, especially if it is distinguished by holding some hereditary civil or religious office. The family of the Chief of Kurmin Bi for example, intermarries with that of the Magajin Obwai on the ground that the latter belonged originally to the village-area of Zuturu.

That the local village-area group constitutes in reality a patrilineal clan is shown by the rule that a man is not debarred from marrying into his mother's village provided he avoids marriage with the immediate relatives of his mother, i.e. with maternal first, second, or third cousins.

[1] The founders of the alleged related kindreds are generally supposed to have been half brothers by the same father.

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maternal first, second, or third cousins. It would appear that there is a tendency for the village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal. The people of Kurmin Bi bury their dead in the skin of a leopard on the ground that the leopard is their relative and that they become leopards at death. It was said that the people of Zonkwa for the same reason bury their dead in the skin of a red monkey, and those of Madauchi in the skin of a cat. The people of Fadia were said to wrap their dead first in a leopard's skin and then in that of a red monkey, possibly because they are of mixed origin. Unfortunately time did not allow me to follow up this line of inquiry.

Wife-abduction is not permitted between members of the same confederacy, i.e. a Baiduang may not steal the wife of a Baiduang. But normally a member of one confederacy may elope with the wife of a member of any other confederacy, e.g. a Bainturu may elope with the wife of a Banewhan. There are exceptions, however, to this rule, for two towns belonging to different confederacies may, if they are situated close to each other, agree together not to elope with each other's wives. Thus the men of Kurmin Bi (Baiduang) refrain from abducting the wives of men of Fadan Kaje (Baintso) and vice versa, on the ground that these two villages are situated close to each other. Similarly the men of Fadia (Baintso) refrain from eloping with the wives of the men of Zonkwa (Baiduang). A Zonkwa man also avoids eloping with the wives of men of Tsofon Gidda (Baintso) and vice versa. We can see here a process going on which might quite conceivably result in the Baiduang and Baintso becoming two intermarrying exogamous clans.

The Kaje relationship terminology is practically the same as that of the Katab except for the dialectical differences, which are as follows :—

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Atio	Ati (possessive atienzuk)
Ayang	Na
Ngwan	Kawon
Nanyuk	Awum
Atiowhop	Atiokwop
Ayangowhop	Nakwop
Kambwon	Kambwon
Aniat	Anian

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38 Kagoro.

discussion of "clans" and "wards" at Gure, Kahugu, and among Katab), in the beginning: to-day, there are Mingio and Atswam "wards" scattered among a number of villages, and the number of exogamous units among Ankwei has greatly increased, presumably through fission, except in the case of three only (Ankut, Anpi, and Kagwom, at Dussai and Mafok villages), which are said to be Kachichere in origin and must, in the light of the discussion of Kpashan, below, be considered anomalous.[67]

The remainder of Kagoro of Kagoro District are grouped together as Kpashan. According to Smith, "Kagoro country seems to have been a refuge area . . . and tradition states that throughout the 19th century various small groups . . . moved to safety among the Kagoro. The first such group was the (Ma-)Kata . . . The Kata group were called Kpashan by the Kagoro already settled there, and referred to these as *Ankwei*, the name by which the Ankwei described themselves. At first groups of immigrants arriving after the (Ma-)Kata were called *Munzaram*. Later . . . Munzaram and Kpashan were used interchangeably for all the 'strangers' settled in the tribal area who were placed under the ritual control of the Kata, the earliest arrivals." Other immigrant groups in the District have apparently been able to resist assimilation by either moiety, most notably Katab, numbering 1,099 in 1949–50, constituting one entire Village-area (Tum) and a sizeable part of another (Malagum) predominantly Kpashan, and also Ataka, numbering 701.[68] "Kpashan . . . occupy a position of ritual inferiority . . . Ankwei have admitted only the earliest arriving Kpashan, Makata, to . . . the important rituals (*ci*). Cloth was taboo to Ankwei ritual leaders but permitted to Kpashan. . . . Finally, the Kpashan moiety is exogamous in the sense that marriages are not permitted between different Kpashan clans. Among Ankwei this type of exogamy is limited to groups sharing common patrilineal descent. Kpashan may and do abduct wives of other Kpashan, but . . . not . . . wives of Ankwei." Similarly, it would appear, Ankwei do not "abduct" wives of Kpashan men.[69]

The really effective large social kinship unit is the *kwai*, essentially a large-scale localized unit, of the order of a clan, but in the case of the *kwai*, however, it is clear that disparate units are involved, exactly as has already been noted at Gure and elsewhere, farther above, a situation to be expected in a community where the processes of fission and fusion are constantly at work: thus, though "normally" ritually independent, two *kwai*, located in different villages, may recognize a common priest; two *kwai* of a single village, though mutually recognizing their independence, may be stubbornly grouped together as a single *kwai* by Kagoro of other villages; and in at least one *kwai* (Katuwak of Kukum Village-area), there can be intermarriage between members of an adopted lineage of recent Ataka origin and members of other lineages of the same *kwai*, though outsiders apparently make no distinction among the various lineages. Smith, however, indicates that in general members of a *kwai* share in addition to "common residence and patrilineal descent combined,"[70] a common head, common name and totems, common (ancestral?) shrine where members participate in important rituals, common *obwai*

[67] It should be noted that Smith found several other foreign elements accommodated under the name of Ankwei, but some effort was made to conceal their origins: to such elements "fictional kinship may be extended . . . or bonds of uterine kinship may be utilized. . . ."

[68] According to Cole (1949), Tum was (in 1948) absorbed by the Fadan Kagoro Village-area. Smith treats Tum as a separate Village-area, however (as of 1950).

[69] Cf. footnote 19, p. 73, above, re Katab marriage rules. Smith stresses the fact that, among Kagoro, given the heterogeneous character of the community, wife abduction is a source of hostility, feuds, and conflicts, and is probably not practised among the moieties because of its danger to tribal cohesion.

[70] It would appear that kinship among members can sometimes be demonstrated genealogically. The factor of common residence—not necessarily in a single compound—but in a quarter of a village—leads Meek on occasion to translate *kwai* as "ward": this, according to Smith, is confusing, as the "wards" recognized by Administration rarely correspond to the *kwai*. Smith translates *kwai* usually as "clan," but sometimes—for reasons apparent from the discussion of *bin*, below—as "clan-segment".

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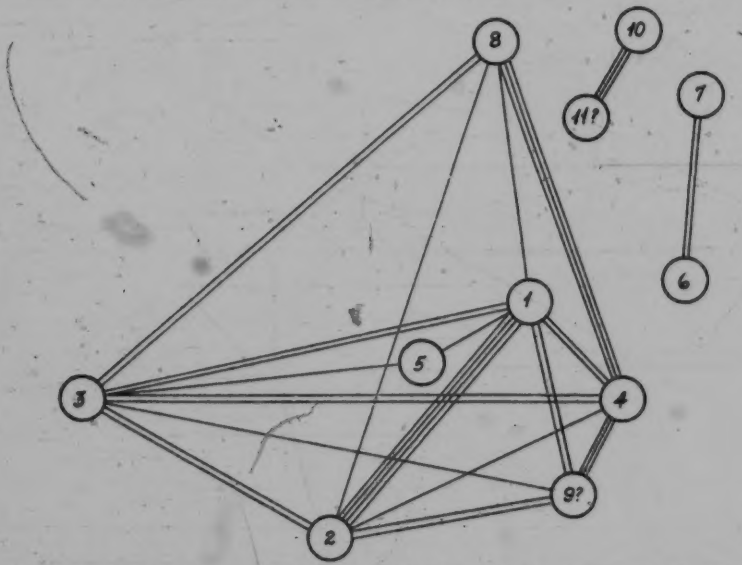
priest, shrine and ritual, common hunting grounds and, finally, common body of rules relating to marriage.[71]

Lesser social (kinship) groupings are the *tusa* or *uli*, and the *ufam*, which Smith translates as maximal and major lineage, respectively. Both of these are distinguished by common residence, presumably successively more narrowly circumscribed. The maximal lineage has its own head and its own hunting shrine; apparently it may have its distinctive totem species. Members of the major lineage share the spoils of the hunt, and co-operate in beer-making.[72]

Smith agrees with Cole that the compound, or domestic group, among Kagoro may be small. He cites as an example of a large compound at Fadan Kagoro village (population 1,895, with 214 compounds) one with four adult males and at least two women of child-bearing age, and, no doubt, some children. His intensive census of 94 compounds at Fadan Kagoro showed one-third to be composed of



KEY: (1) Fadan Kagoro, (2) Agbam, (3) Chanje, (4) Kpak, (5) Kukum, (6) Kadarko, (7) Makabun, (8) Malagum, (9) Saño, (10) Mafok, (11) Dussai. Position of numerals on diagram corresponds approximately to position, on map of District, of chief village of each Village-area named, except in the case of Nos. (9) and (11), which are located on no map at present available. The number of lines between Village-areas, above, represents the number of *bin* linking any Village-area with neighbouring areas: there are, of course, fewer *bin* than the total number of lines shown linking Village-areas here, since more than two Village-areas are joined together by at least three of the existing *bin* (see list, pp. 92–3).

extended family groups. Members of the average compound number around nine at Fadan Kagoro.

Regarding the compound, Smith states that "the centre of all Kagoro compounds . . . contains the foundation stone, without which the compound does not

[71] Normally it is "the widest unit within which the levirate is practised," but in some cases the *bin*, discussed below, may be so defined.

[72] Re co-operation, see below. Whether or not, rarely or often, the *ufam* constitutes a compound is not entirely clear.

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592 form a separate social unit and which is laid by the householder's father before any building takes place. Above the central stone is a wooden structure supporting a platform on which grain is heaped in the dry season when brought in from the fields."

618 A single named kinship group among Kagoro—the *bin*—remains to be described. Four kinds of *bin* are classified by Smith: the *bin* formed among "dispersed segments of former clan"; the *bin* formed among agnatically related *kwai* of a single village; and two sorts of artificial *bin*, one, an exclusive grouping of *kwai* and the other, a *bin* of which one or more of the participating *kwai* (or lineages thereof) are linked with other *kwai* (or lineages) to constitute a second *bin* (as will be seen in the table below, certain lineages of *kwai* Kpaguwak, Mingio and Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro participate in a total of five *bin*, for example). The *bin* is, then, an association of *kwai*: membership in a *bin* entails exogamy, and prohibits "wife-stealing" within the *bin*: members share "common totem, where these occur" and, in at least the first of the four types described above, a "common clan name and traditions of common descent, sometimes genealogically demonstrable," is not unusual—though in the last of the two types described kinship is purely artificial. As with the *kwai*, exceptions to all rules seem to occur, but it would appear that the *bin* system, even when its deficiencies are taken into account (see diagram on p. 91), must be essential to Kagoro unity, providing as it does links between the various local units (Village-areas). The actual effects of the *bin* system can best be grasped in the diagram, in which ties between villages are shown graphically.

GR 616 The table which follows, an adaptation from Smith's several tables, shows the distribution of *kwai* by villages, and the *bin* linkages of *kwai* (those *kwai* followed by the same number in parentheses constitute a single *bin*), as well as their moiety affiliations.

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Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
? Fadan Kagoro (Fada) : 1,895	Kpaguwak (1, 2) ..	214	Kadau (14)	412
	Mingio (2, 3, 4) ..	346	Kalahu (15)	374
	Mungwop (4, 5) ..	173	Lawat (16, 17) ..	376
		733		1,162
Agbam (Agwam, Agwan, ? Ogban) : 1,422	Mingio (3)	415	Kacang (18)	94
	Mungwop (5)	241	Kamuwang (?) ..	413
		656	Kutang (14?)	194
			Lawat (16)	85
				786
Chanje (-i) : 113	Mingio (3)	38	Kutrok (19)	33
	Mungwop (5)	21	Sukurak (20)	21
		59		54
Kpak (Kwak, ? Apak) : 1,299	Atswan (6)	74	Kabiyip (21, 22) ..	93
	Mingio (3)	179	Kagak (21, 22) ..	203
		253	Nientswot (21, 22) ..	256
			Kangai (23)	9
			Micen (23, 24) ..	222
			Kutrok (15, 19, 25) ..	264
				1,046

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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Village-Area : Population	*Ankuvi moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Kukum (Kukkum) : 1,612	Kangai (7)	315	Sukurak (20)	294
	Katuk (7)	332		
	Katuwak (7) ..	132		
	Kunduwak (7) ..	227		
	Kusali (7)	100		
	Zukpom (7, 8) ..	84		
	Kpaguwak (1) ..	128		
		1,318		
Kadarko : 708	Kabum (9)	77		
	Kagwurum (9) ..	173		
	Kanyio (9)	121		
	Kikwot (9)	117		
	Zafan (9)	179		
	Sibio (10)	16		
	Ti (10)	26		
Makabun (Makabbo) : 303	Kabon (9)	183		
	Kagwurum (9) ..	40		
	Kikwot (9)	16		
	Zafan (9)	59		
	Sibio (10?)	5		
Malagum : 609	Mingio (3)	23	Kawom (24)	206
			Kutrok (19)	380
				586
Safio (Safwio) : 793	Atswan (6)	21	Kalayip (26, 18) ..	87
	Kabiokut (8)	75	Kamang ? (26, 18, 25)	222
	Mungwop (5)	38	Kushwon (26 18, 17)	146
		134	Kuluk (22)	204
				659
Dussai (Duchin, Dusai) : 230	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13) ..	?		
Mafok (Mafo, Mafor) : 435	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13) ..	?		

It should be explained that the complex linkages between *bin* at Fadan Kagoro are the result of relations maintained by single lineages within the *kwai* concerned. Elsewhere, apparently, linkages between *bin* commonly involve entire *kwai*.

Population figures are derived from Smith's own census of July, 1950, except for the totals for Dussai and Mafok, which he attributes to the N.A. Census for 1949–50. Alternative names for Village-areas given in parentheses are derived variously from Ames, Census Village Directory of 1931, Cole, Meek, and Tremearne.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY.

In 1950 the chief of the Kagoro Independent District was a man of Kamang *tusa* of Kalahu *kwai* at Fadan Kagoro, popularly chosen by Kagoro on the death in 1945 of his predecessor, who also came of the Kamang lineage: of the five (or more) chiefs recognized by Administration since the first British expedition to the District in 1905, all have come of Kamang lineage save one.

The facts that lie behind these facts are impossible to establish with any real certainty at this late date. Smith sums up the situation: "When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills . . .Kagoro had no single tribal chief. . . . He is

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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622 not a traditional entity." Smith's field data bear out Cole's statement that in 1905 the ritual leaders designated a man of Kamang when the British enquired after a chief. It would appear that the chieftaincy developed in a contact situation, and it seems to be more than a mere coincidence that a man of Kpashan, the "ritually inferior" moiety should have been put forward, when such a move is seen to conform to a pattern to which the well attested exceptions are rare.[73] Smith notes that the chieftaincy has progressed in two generations "from . . . a thing of derision" to 622 "an object of competition," and states that the present chief has developed a system of councils integrated with the clan organization and with the two main 623 groups produced by culture contact, the village chiefs, and the literate young men. Three delegates—the village chief, a village elder, and a literate young man—are selected by each village council, and these delegates meet with the chief every three months to form the tribal council, in which common affairs of interest are discussed and proposals made. Village councils are composed of three similar persons from each clan—the clan head, another elder, and a literate young man—but meet under the village chief more frequently. Proposals accepted by the tribal council are referred back to village councils and, from them, go to the level of clan discussion, the popular feeling being expressed at the next meeting by the delegates, when decisions for action are taken.

361 No detailed information is available on form of settlement, though the implication of all accounts seems to be that compounds and *kwai* are fairly widely scattered, apart from a few concentrations (as at Fadan Kagoro in the vicinity of the railway station): this situation is incident to Administration's dispersal, early in this century, of the hill villages (in all probability, more compact), to the local system of land tenure and to farming methods (shifting cultivation). No Kagoro village to-day is anything like simple in structure: of the villages analysed above only Dussai, Kadarko, Mafok, and Makabun are entirely Ankwei (no village is entirely Kpashan), and each of these constitutes a collection of *kwai*, while the remaining seven villages are structurally complex entities with representatives of both moieties.

621 In general, it appears that one Ankwei *kwai* in each village is recognized by all other *kwai* in the village as ritually paramount:[74] each *kwai* has its own leaders, but 618 the leaders of the paramount (because senior in the area) *kwai* in the past, at least, were the leaders of the village; according to Smith, each village has responded to Administration by casting up a civil or secular chief, whose prestige and authority have steadily grown to some extent at the expense of the power of the priests.[75] At the present time the chief duty of the "community-chief" (title, *agwom*) is "to provide members of the community with land and house-sites for settlement."[76]

621 Similarly, what might be termed a secular territorial unit has emerged to mediate between the *kwai*, as a territorial unit, and the village: this is the ward (Hausa, *ungwa*), a unit which Smith appears to regard as having been defined entirely arbitrarily and by Administration. It would seem that a ward may include within its boundaries several contiguous *kwai* or even lineages, whether or not related, thus cutting across *kwai* boundaries.[77] It is strongly implied, if not stated, that these wards have civil heads.

793 The title of the chief priest of the village is *tienwhop*, to use Smith's ortho-

[73] Cf. footnotes on Warjawa organization in Gwaram (Kano), p. 26, above.

[74] How Kata lineage of Kadau *kwai*, Kpashan moiety, at Fadan Kagoro, shares in Ankwei ritual (see p. 90, above) there is not specified.

[75] No information is available regarding the principle upon which this functionary was originally chosen (especially the moiety from which chosen).

[76] It is surprising that the *agwom* should be a recent innovation in view of Kagoro's tradition of a Plateau origin; among Aten and Birom in their Plateau homeland, *gwom* = priest chief. Data from Kaje tribe, as from Katab, appear to agree with Kagoro in this.

[77] Smith indicates, however, that though in the villages members of a clan may share a clearly defined area, the farms of members of distinct *kwai* are commonly interdigitated, outside the villages. Cf. discussion of wards in Ningi District, p. 15, above.